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Woodrow Wilson Fellowships were awarded to 107 graduates from Negro colleges between 1958 and 1962 but to only 69 graduates during the following 5 years. The realization that this drop may have been caused by increased recruiting of Negro students by northern colleges and concern about the small number of black students at the graduate level led to the establishment of the Southern Teaching Internship Program in 1963, when 15 Woodrow Wilson fellows joined the staffs of Negro colleges as faculty members for 1 year. By 1968, over 250 interns had participated in the program. The hope that these interns would recruit more black Woodrow Wilson fellows has not yet materialized, but many students have been motivated to seek education beyond the bachelor's degree. For those interns who continued their studies, the year provided a renewed sense of the importance of graduate training. Of 174 ex-interns surveyed, 34 hold the Ph.D, and 107 of the remaining 140 without the doctorate had returned to graduate school following their internship. A similar program for administrative interns has been launched for graduates of business schools. The Martin Luther King, Jr., Fellowships program, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, is designed to provide black leadership in business and industry. This program is available to returning Negro veterans who have a baccalaureate degree. (WM)

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Hans Rosenhaupt

PARTICIPATION OF NEGROES IN WOODROW WILSON FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS

Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation statistics on the participation of Negroes in the fellowship program are sparse, for like most organizations we failed to keep track of candidates by racial origin. We don't know how many Negroes from integrated colleges have been elected, but it certainly is a small number. Graduates from southern Negro colleges in ten years of operation, accounted for a total of 176 elections out of 13,000, or only a little over 1 percent. Negro colleges in 1962–1963 accounted for 3 percent of all United States bachelor's degrees.

It is of interest to note that in the first five years—1958 to 1962—107 fellows from southern Negro colleges were elected but that in the next five years the number fell to 69. This change was largely caused by increased recruiting of bright Negroes by strong northern colleges. As a result, a candidate who would have clearly been number one or two in his class at Morehouse or Fisk and probably chosen for a Woodrow Wilson fellowship stood somewhere in the middle of his class at Amherst or Oberlin, in regions where, furthermore, competition for Woodrow Wilson fellowships is tougher than in the South. In addition, northern committees generally are by their own description "color blind," whereas southern committees have learned to temper the wind to the new-shorn lamb and to make allowances in judging candidates from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Generally, our committees, like most well-meaning committees of white liberals, have failed to judge black candidates in terms of their own culture. Without necessarily using the generalizations and abstractions that are typical of the white man's language, blacks are often saying important and moving things which we don't hear. A girl candidate from Knoxville College in Tennessee gave a nice but dull account of herself in an interview. The committee was ready to terminate the interview when in a soft voice she added rather casually, "One more thing I wanted to tell the committee. Around Christmas time I bought a book called *Le Rouge et le Noir.* It is in French. I read it and I enjoyed it—and I got no credit for it." The candidate was telling us that she had achieved a major breakthrough, putting down her own money for a book. Even more important was the last sentence which said in effect, "I have discovered the joy of intellectual

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activity for its own sake. I now consider myself an intellectually liberated human being."

At an early stage of our existence under large Ford Foundation grants, we recognized the problem of ensuring adequate representation of black students in the graduate academic community and experimented with a number of measures. We suggested, for example, to committee chairmen that they set targets for Negro fellows. Even the most pro-Negro chairmen convinced us, however, that we could not start the practice of selecting candidates *because* they were black. When you have a prestige program, you can carry a few compassionately elected candidates on your back, but even those candidates must meet minimum standards. In retrospect I know that we were too timid. Undoubtedly we missed some black candidates of high potential because we judged them by wrong criteria.

An early experiment consisted in supporting on a modest scale a few honors seminars taught by local faculty for handpicked students, likely candidates for graduate school, at two or three black colleges. It had been our idea that these seminars would not be for credit, that they would afford students the freely ranging intellectual experience of which the Knoxville student had spoken. We soon learned that students who need their spare time to earn money for putting themselves through school take a dim view of any academic activity that does not add to that precious hoard of credits which eventually turns into a degree. We also found that seminars tended to ossify into rigidly organized courses with mimeographed reading lists and daily assignments. The Southern Teaching Internship Program, which I shall describe presently, was a natural outgrowth of this experiment.

In 1963, encouraged by the results of some summer training for black Woodrow Wilson fellows prior to their entering graduate school, we started a small new program for students who had not been chosen for Woodrow Wilson fellowships but whose potential was apparent. In the view of our selection committees, these candidates, some white, many black, needed an extra year to qualify them for graduate work. With funds from the United States Steel and Field Foundations, we supported most of these students for a year, mainly at Columbia University but also at a number of other universities and colleges. (A much larger program initiated by Dean Cadbury in 1966 is based on similar principles as ours.)

Far too many black Woodrow Wilson fellows in the past have quit during or after their first year, often deeply discouraged. During this preparatory year of undergraduate training in such subjects as expository writing or a foreign language, the pressures of graduate school were eliminated. Programs of this kind should probably incorporate at least one bona fide graduate course for the simple reason that most students perform better when they know that at least part of what they are doing counts toward a

graduate degree and also because a graduate course allays their fears. If remaining in graduate school, earning a master's degree, or going into college teaching are desirable ends, then the post-baccalaureate program with which we have experimented for about eight years has been at least twice as successful for Negro students as the regular Woodrow Wilson program. Virtually all of the sixty-two recipients of post-baccalaureate training continued into and stayed in graduate school. In the long view, we should consider incorporating programs such as Dean Cadbury's or ours in the regular operation of graduate schools, giving those in the program the satisfaction of being recognized as graduate students, but at the same time affording them an opportunity to prepare themselves for full-time graduate work by taking undergraduate courses.

A new internship program began in 1963 when fifteen former Woodrow Wilson fellows went south as faculty members on Negro campuses. By now, with the assistance of large grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, over 250 intern years have been logged. The interns' minimum preparation consisted of two years of graduate work. In subsequent years we also admitted a few teaching interns who had only one year of graduate study plus one year of teaching experience. In a typical year a little over half of the teaching interns have only the minimum requirements, but over the years an ever larger proportion of the group have been more experienced. Out of sixty-nine teaching interns this year, twenty-eight hold the doctorate and fifteen have completed all requirements but the dissertation.

An intern's typical experience varies all the way from being impressed with the quality of his colleagues and students to feeling that he has been put in a hopeless situation. Likewise, an intern's reception varies all the way from whole-hearted welcome to suspicion and even fear. Some interns consider the classroom and their office their zone of operation; others consider the personal ties they build as important as any academic achievement. While a few interns did little more than what was asked of them, most did a great deal more. Some performed miracles.

The intern's effect on their students takes place on many levels. Like bright and well-trained young teachers everywhere, interns tend to start the academic year by demanding more, sometimes too much, of their students. They soon learn that many of their students read slowly, some badly, and that their attention span is short. Since the academic *amour propre* is tied in with academic standards—whatever that is—their initial adjustment to curricular requirements is not always easy. Only one intern quit after one semester; he could not reconcile his own mathematical eminence with the more humble status of his students. You don't need to look into Negro colleges to find young instructors who refuse to face

a fact recently noted in a learned paper in *Daedalus*. It is that one half of all humanity has an I.Q. below 100.

In the early years, interns were less discouraged by the poor preparation of their students than by their lack of motivation. In many colleges, students considered classes a chore to be done with a minimum of effort, college a pleasant way of spending a few years, and a bachelor's degree a doubtful key to better jobs which in all probability the white man would occupy anyway. During the five years of the Internship Program's existence, we have noted a change in climate, first at the leading Negro colleges, but slowly moving into the less well-known colleges as well. More and more black students seek a relevant college experience, one that has to do with their interests and preoccupations.

The cry for relevance is typically joined to demands for black power. Black student leaders regret the fact that some or many or all of their good teachers are white. How can a young Negro develop pride in his race, they ask, when there are so few black models before him? Accordingly, some of the more sophisticated black colleges will hire white faculty only after all avenues for obtaining good black faculty have been thoroughly explored. Every year we have about 250 volunteers for internships, but place only about seventy a year, mainly because job offers from black colleges are received too late.

The Rockefeller grant enables us to assume responsibility for one-fourth of each intern's salary, as set by the college, which is solely responsible for hiring him. In return we ask that the college release one-fourth of every intern's time, but that arrangement is honored mainly in overt or covert breach.

Through the Internship Program we had hoped to increase the number of black Woodrow Wilson fellows. Although this hope has not materialized, in many instances interns have imparted their own enthusiasm for the subject matter to their students and have often caused their students to seek education beyond the bachelor's degree.

Teaching interns soon learned that to be effective they had to fit into a college culture which differed in significant aspects from that of their own undergraduate college. By and large, black faculty members, particularly the older ones, are removed from their students. In an extreme case, one of the interns was warned by his department chairman that faculty members were not expected to stop on campus to talk with students. Attempts to establish social relations with students outside the classroom were sometimes frustrated by strict rules. On one campus, for example, girl students were permitted to accept rides only if the car's license number had been noted on a list of approved cars signed by the girl's parents. In some instances, interns ran into rather serious misunderstandings not

only with students but also with faculty members concerning such matters as plagiarism. On many campuses interns found a rather rigid system of administration, which often made relatively simple matters such as getting books into and out of the bookstore or hiring a bus for a field trip a time-consuming and sometimes frustrating undertaking. Virtually all interns quickly learned to adjust to a different social climate without abandoning their ambitions for change.

The most important change worked by interns takes place in the hearts and minds of their students. One young Negro student, struggling to express his emotions, winds up a letter to an intern with these words:

> I am dissatisfied and irreparably unsettled. I have been confronted with new opportunities to think, to examine, to be expressive. I can never again be satisfied with another's convictions, but must be responsible, with Divine Guidance, for my own. For realization of unrest that makes life worthwhile and a never-ending quest, I am grateful.
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> Philosophy 104 has opened a door which was only hesitantly cracked in the past. The memory of this experience and of the person who made it possible and therefore did so much toward my enlightenment shall live always in my mind—and, incidentally, in my heart.

Interns affected not only their students; they also in many instances established lasting friendships with black colleagues, many of whom as a result of their exposure to interns began to look for opportunities to continue their own education. In some instances interns played an important role in bringing a better understanding of their students' ambitions to deans and presidents.

How does a year or two as an intern affect a graduate student's progress through graduate school? We surveyed 174 interns, 34 of whom held the Ph.D. Of the 140 ex-interns who had left graduate school without the Ph.D., 107 returned after their internship to continue graduate studies. Twenty-one of the remaining continued as teachers, and only 12 left the academic world altogether. Those who returned to graduate school typically brought back to their graduate studies a renewed sense of the importance of graduate training. I'm sure the experience of one intern is not typical, but since you are interested in the improvement of graduate education, her observations may be of interest.

> Before teaching at Paine I wasn't really certain what graduate school was supposed to be preparing me for. But after two years of teaching, I'd been able to define, at least to my own satisfaction, what some of the more critical problems are in trying to communicate with students through the medium of literature (my field is comparative lit.). I'd also been able to find out what some of my weakest areas are, e.g. pre-Hellenic lit., modern Italian lit., and so on. So back I came to school with a fairly good idea of what I wanted to do. I spent the year writing one critical essay after another and trying to do some reading in the areas I felt weak in. All in all, I've had

> what I would consider a fruitful year. I've received an occasional pat on the back, which is always encouraging, for having worked out some new comparative approaches to ancient and modern religious poetry and for having done something original—although of no scholarly value. But so what? I'm not one iota closer to getting a degree than I was three years ago.

Incidentally, of the 34 Ph.D.'s surveyed, 10 are "whereabouts unknown," presumably traveling throughout Europe in style on their (usually substantial) savings. Twenty-one are teaching, 3 have left academe. Of the total 174 surveyed, 7 are now regular faculty members at the colleges where they served as interns.

Some of you have discovered that interns can help recruit black students for graduate schools. Every year we furnish the names of former interns to the deans of the graduate schools to which they have returned. We shall be happy to provide those of you who ask for it with a list of interns.

Following suggestions made by a number of teaching interns, we have recently launched a small program for administrative interns—graduates of business schools. Last year it supported five, and this year it supports seven administrative interns at southern colleges. Since the program is at this point still in a state of development, I shall not describe it in detail. Prospects for recruiting large numbers of administrative interns for the academic year 1969–1970 are good. We are overcoming the reluctance among some Negro presidents to employ young and relatively inexperienced administrative assistants. The program's potential is demonstrated by the achievement of one administrative intern, who single-handedly quintupled the amount of federal scholarship money available. The need for strengthening the administration of black colleges has been recognized not only by the president of those colleges but also by a number of other agencies, such as the United Negro College Fund, the Sloan Foundation, the Esso Education Foundation, and the Ford Foundation.

A significant new development in our work with Negroes is a newly established program for returning Negro veterans, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Fellowships, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. Fifteen Negro veterans are currently attending the following graduate and professional schools: Harvard, Columbia, Tufts, University of Pennsylvania, Indiana University, Northwestern, Ohio State, Meharry, UCLA, and Berkeley. We have pledged every Martin Luther King, Jr., fellow two full years of support. Martin Luther King, Jr., fellows must be veterans with remaining G.I. entitlement and must hold a baccalaureate degree. The Foundation adds a living stipend of $270 a month to the G.I. entitlement, which varies between $130 and $175 a month, thus giving a single fellow

a tax-free monthly income of $400. In addition, during the current year we pay the student's tuition. Our plan for the future anticipates a tripartite partnership between student, Foundation, and graduate school. The student invests his G.I. entitlement; we add $270 a month; the graduate school provides a tuition fellowship.

A $400 tax-free monthly living allowance may strike you as high. It is. The purpose of the new program—which, incidentally, we expect to expand significantly—is to provide black leadership. The men we want are the very same whom business and industry try to attract. By providing a veteran with the equivalent of an annual salary before taxes of about $6000, we are affording him a realistic alternative to gainful employment.

With this program we are for the first time venturing outside the liberal arts. I hope that some day our efforts will be focused on recruiting the best college students that can be found, white or black, and on providing whatever is necessary to see them through the training they will need in order to provide leadership in a sector of their own choice. In the long run, I believe our country would be well served by a program such as this, recruiting not only future college teachers, but also future lawyers, politicians, ministers, social workers, businessmen, and doctors. By attracting young men and women of intellectual promise and with high ideals to careers of service, we would raise the sights of the best of our college students as well as of those who teach them.